

THE STATE OF THE  
NATION CONSIDER'D, IN  
A LETTER TO A MEMBER  
OF PARLIAMENT

(1747)

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THE THIRD EDITION.

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L O N D O N :

Printed for W. WEBB near St. Paul's.  
[ Price One-Shilling. ]

AC911.1747.5723

# The P R E F A C E.

*I AM oblig'd to introduce the following little Performance, by a short Preface, for various Reasons, one of which, is, to explain why some Things are spoke of, as to come, that are really past, owing to the Remarks thereon, having been made some Time ago, but the Publication deferr'd, until the Meeting of the Parliament, yet in no Sense necessary to be alter'd, as the Thoughts concerning them appear to be right, and connect properly with the Sequel.*

*One other is, that I did not chuse to interrupt too much the Course of the Reasoning, by the Intervention of Figures, which are apt to puzzle some sort of Readers, and break the Thread of the Discourse. Intending at first to have given a compleat Table, of the State of the Expences of the last and present Wars, but finding that already done, and in every Body's Hands, who are suppos'd to read political Tracts, I have only illustrated the most important Part of the following Argument, by exhibiting to the Reader's View three Articles, which, I hope, will be sufficient to open their Eyes, both as*

*to the Wisdom and Honesty of the present A———n, independent of their other Conduct.*

*The Principles I have calculated upon, I conceive to be very fair. The first seven Years of Queen Anne's War, set against an equal Number of the present, whereby our Frugality is sufficiently explain'd, and the Justice done the Nation happily illustrated. The Conclusions to be made therefrom, is in every Man's own Breast, and while they can condescend to think such Proceedings right, they are very welcome to glorify the present M——y, and rejoice in their own Folly.*

The Expence of seven Years	}	41,003,052
War 1740 to 1746 inclusive,		
The same of Queen <i>Anne's</i>	}	31,736,281
1702 to 1708 inclusive,		
Difference,		9,266,771

The Reason of this will appear very evidently, when we come to see the different Sums allowed for the same Articles.

For 49,229 Men for the	}	1,298,100
Land Service, 1746,		
For 50,000 Ditto for Ditto	}	1,063,734
1706,		

. The



# P R E F A C E

v

The Difference, besides	}	
771 Men more,	}	224,366

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The Ordinary of the Navy,	}	
1746,	}	198,048

The same,	1706,	120,000
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	Difference,	78,048
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To Ordinance for the Land	}	
Service for the Year 1746	}	
exclusive of an Allowance	}	175,777
for extraordinary Charges of	}	
246,542 l. the Sum of,	}	

To the same for,	1706,	120,000
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	Difference,	55,777
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*I am asham'd to trouble the Reader with any more Articles, when the annual Difference on these three only, if the whole was thrown in, would amount to above 500,000 l. For the Truth on both Sides, I refer to the Votes of the House of Commons, and believe, the warmest Advocates of People in Power will own my Account very much in their Favour This establishes the Point I am aiming at by the following Treatise, which is intended to shew, that a Peace can't be in any Sense necessary, if the military Men did their Du-*

*ty on the one Part, and the Civil on the other; besides the Destruction of the French Trade, and the commanding a Peace on our own Terms; I think it may be fairly concluded, that notwithstanding the extraordinary Expences, occasion'd by the Rebellion, &c. we had been at the Conclusion of the last Year 8,000,000*l.* less in Debt, which will still grow upon us surprisingly, when, for want of having done what might justly be expected, little less is now to be rais'd extraordinary every Year; and if I was to shew this in its true Dress, fully calculated, and had remark'd, that four of the last seven Years Expence was on Account of a Spanish War only, it would still appear more astonishing, what is become of all the Money. But as I hope that will be one Day consider'd in a proper Place, I don't chuse at present to give it the highest Colouring I am capable of, lest I should seem to prejudge those, who I hope will not be long unjudg'd, for their own Sakes, as well as that of the Nations.*

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THE  
STATE  
OF THE  
NATION  
CONSIDER'D, &c.

S I R,

THE *Fate* of *England*, as well as of all *Europe*, is now swiftly approaching towards its Crisis, and the Con-  
juncture so critically nice, as requires in a very extraordinary Manner, not only Yours, but the Care and Attention of every honest Man in your House. In a word, something is to be done, exquisitely bold and striking, something that will give the highest Eclat to our Arms, the greatest Glory to our Actions; or we are inevitably undone. This,

A

Sir,

Sir, is my Business to shew from indisputable Facts ; such Facts as are clear as Light to the Understanding of every Reader, that are known to be true, as soon as exhibited, and the Inferences therefrom just, natural, and easy ; such as every Man will make that reflects, and acknowledge the instant he considers.

I presume that no Body will dispute with me that there is a wide Difference, between begging and commanding a *Peace* ; or that a *Peace* can be commanded, where the War is not wisely conducted, both as to the civil and military. In the first, by throwing Money idly away on useless or worthless People ; in the last by employing Men without *Merit*, *Character*, or *Honour*. In the first Case, Money will always be wanted for the Exigencies of the State ; *Want* increaseth *Want*, *Necessity* heightens *Interest* ; *Debts* improve upon *Debts*, and the Nation from commanding Money at what *Interest* they please to give, must be reduc'd to take it, on the Terms of those who are willing to lend, whose Views are to grow immensely rich on the common Ruin.

The

The employing of Men not judiciously suited to the End aim'd at, must produce Disappointments; Disappointments useless Expence; a parallel Evil to that of giving Money away to worthless People in the Civil Branch, and together be followed by such fatal Consequences as I tremble to recount.

I am the more concern'd to mention this by way of Introduction, as I find the Genius of the Nation well inclin'd to remedy such Disorders, in a calm and gentle Manner: And to exert itself at this tender Conjunction, for the universal Welfare. The natural *British* Spirit is ready to break its Bounds, and wants nothing but a Man of true Fire at the Head of Affairs to give it Vent, and to let it rush with all its genial Fury on the *House of Bourbon*.

As Affairs are circumstanc'd, the Enemies of his Majesty, and of the Constitution, both at Home and Abroad, lay a great Stress on the Difficulties we must soon be driven to, if our Plan of Conduct be

not immediately alter'd. They examine into, and see clearly this Course cannot hold long; and thereupon build their Hopes of our being presently in a State of Confusion. It is therefore not only necessary, but absolutely dishonest in any Man, who has it in his Power, not to shew the dangerous Situation we are in; that the same may be seriously consider'd by every Honest *Briton*, laid close to his Heart, and the Means towards a Remedy pursu'd with Courage and Address.

There has been a Necessity through the Course of this *War*, to advance some Millions annually, above what was necessary in Times of *Peace*; had double the Sum been rais'd, so a suitable Spirit and Rectitude had attended it, we had certainly been Gainers. The Destruction of the *French Trade* and Shipping, must have been followed with the Rise of our own, and had amply answer'd our Expences, as well as commanded a *Peace*. We for some Time acted very briskly, and then of a sudden, one can hardly tell how, or why, we fell into a kind of Lethargy; and instead of im-

proving

proving the forward Spirit of the People, as our Allies got Ground, the *Genius* of *Britain* droop'd, and we sunk into an infamous Fawning on the *French* for *Peace*. Fearing, I suppose, that when more Money was wanting, it would not be readily granted, until the Application of what had been given, was fairly accounted for. Here is a judicious Inference drawn from a bad Principle, and dishonourable Means prosecuted, to bury bad Conduct in Oblivion.

There is, Sir, a kind of new Whim or ministerial Cant diffus'd among the People, with great Art and Industry. All the Consequences of their bad Management is thrown upon those who write in favour of the Public, which they call writing against them, and their Conclusion is, that such Writers encourage Rebellion, and aid the Enemies of the State. If it be retorted upon them that they are the only *Enemies* of the State, they wou'd be very angry, yet, as we are coming to Facts, I am afraid it will be found too true.

I conceive those to be Enemies to the State who undertake Posts they are incapa-

ble of executing, that squander away the *Public Money*, or employ People in the Service, who are only fit for Places as being their Friends.

They are Friends to the Administration, who remark the Errors of the Administration, and aim to amend them, because such being amended makes the State securer.

The Money necessary for the Service of the Year 1746, was 7,063,352*l.* 17*s.* This appears by the Votes of the House, and therefore needs no Proof.

The Money necessary for the Service of the Year 1747, I conceive will be at least 10,500,000: Tho' calculated below at something less,

To the Service of 1747, -	7,063,352
To keep down the Navy Debt } and Interest, - - -	1,200,000
To make good the Civil List,	700,000
The Expences of the Rebellion,	500,000
To <i>New England</i> , on Account } of <i>Cape-Breton</i> , - - -	200,000
To the Expences of the Court } Martial, - - - - -	200,000
To a Vote of Credit. - - -	500,000
	<hr/>
	10,363,352
	The



The Money for the necessary Service of the *War*, must be rais'd, but if it is not well conducted, the Deficiencies will rise by Degrees to so enormous a Sum, That even *Seven Millions* won't answer the Current Service in Time of *Peace*, nor perhaps double that Sum in a *future War*. If the Civil List requires 700,000*l.* to make it good now, I need not tell Men accustomed to calculate what must inevitably follow. The Interest on that Sum will be large, there will be more Deficiencies every Year, and if supplied, as must necessarily be the Case, more Interest upon that, this Increase of both Principal and Interest, must load us beyond our Bearings, as the Seamen's Phrase is, and consequently sink under the Burthen; a Burthen too that has nothing to do with either *War* or *Peace*. Not a Debt created by, or for the Public Service, but to ruin and distract our Affairs. A proper Application of the *Civil List*, can never run us in Debt. Yet will this Debt, when created, be first made good, because those who created it, and those on whom the Money has been squandered, and who ex-

peſt ſtill to be further ſupplied, will certainly intereſt themſelves, in the making of it good; the dangerous Conſequences naturally reſulting herefrom, I am afraid have not been conſidered with that Concern for the Public Welfare as might at this critical Conjunction be expected, from Men whoſe Hearts are rather warm than active in the Public Service. For there is nothing truer, than that the *Civil Liſt*, ſubject to its proper Applications only, is very ſufficiently ſupplied, and in Conſequence cannot be honeſtly in Debt: And if in Debt, it ought to be known why; then if the Deficiency appears to have been ſquandered, ſurely thoſe who have done it, ought to ſupply it out of their own Eſtates; for what have the Public to do therewith?

From hence we ſee the Neceſſity of accurately inſpecting into the *Deficiency* of the *Civil Liſt*, which we ought not to make good, unleſs it evidently appears to have ariſen merely from the *Funds* deſtined to ſupport it: And even then we hope in theſe neceſſary expenſive Times, that it will be  
ſhewn

shewn, that what has arisen, has been only applied according to its *Destination*; for as otherwise it may only be amassed to carry E——s, we may continue eternally in the idle Error, that the Sovereign needs such Assistance; though it may and is true enough with regard to Ministers. And to make them come to this Test, it's extremely necessary that those pecuniary Channels should be dammed up, which, when flowing freely, operate so much to the Prejudice of the Community. I would not be understood to mean by this, to stop any *necessary Supplies* for the carrying on of the *War*, badly conducted as it is, but such only as lead to mischievous Ends, that contribute to loosen and enfeeble the Bands of Government, and prevent proper Measures being taken, for raising our Reputation once more to its pristine Lustre. This, Sir, you will readily conceive, is not to be effected while the Morals of Men are to be played Tricks with, and those in the Direction of Affairs, want both Spirit and Judgment. A *War*, Sir, ought to be carried on like a *War*, not wavering between Earth and Heaven

Heaven, not raised by vain Hopes or cowed by idle Fears; Instability shews the want of Judgment as well as Resolution, and we seem to be aiming at a *Peace* on any Terms, *our determined Enemies* will give it us; and of becoming their Slaves, by playing the Fool with the *War*. And however it may be pretended that we want good Officers, both by Sea and Land, there is nothing truer than that no Nation ever wanted them, and this perhaps less than any, when right Measures were taken to have them, When those that behave ill, are *broke* without Ceremony; and those that behave well, *honoured* and *encouraged*.

A *War*, rightly conducted, can never hurt this Nation, because we have in our own Hands, the Power of ruining the *Trade* of our Adversaries, and thereby of raising our own, which in any *War* with the *French* will pay the Expences, and did so in this, 'till our late *neutral Conduct* at Sea turn'd the Scale, lessened the number of our Privateers, and, by the oddest Management in the World, gave the Balance to the Enemy,  
who

who have done more with a few Ships, than we with all our Grand Fleet: At a Time too when our Allies by Land, are making large Strides towards reducing the exorbitant Power of the Enemy.

It is the common Pretence of Ministers, when they succeed such as had confused the Public Affairs, to say that Matters so circumstanced are not readily set right again: But what Pretence have they who force themselves into Power, when Affairs are in a fine Train of Success, and then murder and confound every Thing they meddle with?

By the *Treaty of Worms*, the Foundation was laid of driving the *French* and *Spaniards* out of *Italy*, and by the wise Conduct of our *magnanimous Ally*, it has had its Effect; in Despight of Opposition and Ignorance. But our Naval Glory at this same Time sunk almost to nothing; the *French* with three or four Men of War commanding the Sea: Their Trade passes and repasses without Molestation

lestation, and one private Commander in the *French* Service so poorly supported, could not only convoy his own Trade, in Opposition to a superior Force, but likewise disperse ours and seize their Convoy. The *Privateers* are almost all laid up, and, for any use we find them of, so might our *Men of War* be too. Thus Ignorance triumphs in this ill fated Nation: and while we have a Prince upon the Throne, as brave and as just, as ever reigned, we don't find the Conduct of the War on our Part, in any Sense adequate to, or connecting with the warm and vigorous Measures pursued by our Allies.

To render this more apparent, if Matters so clear and obvious need be made more so; Let us consider the present State of our Navy, both Civil and Military, and what a fine Condition it is brought to in both Cases, what it has done, and what a terrible Debt it has created.

The Number of fighting Ships and Vessels excluding Bomb Vessels, Fire Ships,  
 and

and hired Ships, &c. are, if the printed List be right, 213. Thus,

1st.	Rates	—	6
2d	—	—	12
3d	—	—	42
4th	—	—	65
5th	—	—	27
6th	—	—	36
Sloops	—	—	25
<hr/>			
213.			

Out of these we may presume, there are about 150 employed, which on an Average have 300 Men each, the Sum Total whereof is 45,000, whereout 5000 may be allowed for the Deficiencies in their Complements, and there remains only 40,000, the Number allotted to the Current Service of the Year; perhaps less are employed. The Allowance by Parliament is four Pounds a Man a Month, which for 40,000 Men, including Ware, Tare, Victualling Wages, and Ordnance Stores, amount, at thirteen Months to the Year, to 2,080,000 *l*. Upon Navy *Interest* and *non Interest* Bills above 800,000 *l*. To the Officers and Men,

Men, on a random Calculation for 26 Months Pay only, about 1,200,000 *l.* more, together about 2,000,000 *l.*

The *French* never employ above forty Men of War on the the same Average and if in them somewhat more Men, are not at more Expence, as for a like Number of ours; their whole at 300 Men a Ship, is 12000. amounting, for 26 Months at Four Pounds a Man a Month, to 1,248,000 *l.* So that their whole Expence in two Years is less by 752,000 *l.* than our Debt, besides 4,160,000 *l.* allowed for the said 26 Months by Parliament, the Difference therefore between their Expence and ours in two Years is, 4,912,000 *l.*

But this is not all, the Navy Bills, after being due six Months, pay 5 per Cent. Interest, and in the Interval carry, on an Average, a Discount of Eight per Cent. This Eight per Cent. seems no Charge on the Government, but that is a great Mistake; for, as all People know of this Discount, they will make their Contracts accordingly, and therefore falls on the Government  
really



really, tho' not apparently ; the Consequence whereof is a large accumulating Debt, obvious enough to the meanest Understanding.

I must observe, that there is a necessary Sum, besides all this allowed annually for the Ordinary of the Navy, Repairs of Shipping, &c. independent of the above ; so that we are upon the whole running precipitately into a Debt, it is morally impossible can ever be paid.

The Reason of comparing with the *French* and setting our 150 Ships against their 40, is this ; they do more with their 40 than we do with our 150, convoy their Trade as safely, and take more of our Ships than we do of theirs, consequently have the better of us in Naval Affairs, by 2,456,000 Pounds Sterling a Year. And as I conceive we are in one Shape or another at as much Expence in the Land Service as the *French*, it will follow, that we can either afford to spend 2,456,000 a Year more than they, besides the great accumulating Debt, or, by the Methods we pursue, be inevitably ruin'd.

I don't

I don't pretend here to be exact in my Calculation, but am on the favourable Side of the Question, having made great Allowances where less were sufficient. You will find, Sir, when the Accounts come before you, that upon the whole they are but too true: And if you are besides called upon to make good the *Civil List*, there will be such a Demand upon the Public this Session, as I believe you will conceive is not readily to be made good; and that will naturally lead you to consider how this happens; whence it will evidently occur to you, that if our Naval Forces had done their Duty, been properly disposed by those who directed them, and those employ'd duly active in their Stations, that this Increase of the Public Debt had yet accrued, but then they had been balanc'd by the *Ruin* of the *French Trade*, and possibly of their *Navy*. This would have paid the growing Debt amply enough; when, as it happens, the Case is quite contrary, and we have this Debt with the *Ruin* of our *own Trade*. So that the Fault must not here be laid on the War, which is right, and what every  
Body

Body wishes to be vigorously continued, but on the Conduct of it, which is wrong, and which all hope will be duly consider'd.

Mr. *Conflans*, the *French Commodore*, as appears by his Journal in the *Utrecht Gazette* of the 22d of *November*, N. S. with the *Terrible* of 74 Guns, the *Neptune* of 74, the *Alcyon* of 50, and the *Glory* of 46, convoy'd from the Road of *Aix* near *Rochelle*, the 29th of *April* last, 230 Merchant Ships for the *West-Indies*. We find soon afterwards, that from another Part of the same Coast, not far distant, the *Duke d'Anville* got off with the Fleet to *America*. Mr. *Conflans* convoy'd his Fleet safe, and returning with another Fleet in *July*, fell in with five of our Men of War, under *Commodore Lee*, who never interrupted him. In *August* with another Convoy, he fell in with *Admiral Davers's* Squadron, which we since learn were under the Command of *Commodore Mitchell*, and they also very complaisantly let him pass. In *September*, the same *French Officer* fell in with our homeward-bound *Leeward-Island Trade*,

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took

took one of their Convoy, the *Severn* Man of War, and some of the Merchant Ships. The first letting of him pass was owing to Negligence at Home, like as in the Case of *D'Anville's* Squadron. The Consequence was, that the *French* made good their Trade, and injur'd ours with *four Ships*, which we cou'd not, or rather did not do, on the other Side, with perhaps *four and thirty*. This has essentially to do with the accumulating Expence, for at this Rate we are running in Debt without Sense or Meaning, though the Rectitude of the War as clear as ever; it is plainly therefore more necessary to change Hands than to make a *bad Peace*. The Spirit of the Nation is awake, and wants nothing but a suitable Genius, and real Skill to conduct it, in order to bring its Honour into some kind of Repute. After what has been said, you can't help seeing the Necessity of this, since with good Management one Campaign more by Land will put the *French* on the defensive every where, and good Conduct at Sea entirely knock up the *French Trade* to the *West-Indies*, and render our Fleet truly formidable.

midable. The hanging half a dozen *Sea Officers* may possibly be a very meritorious Deed: And the obliging our *Land Admirals* to retire to their Country Seats, and direct the Navigation of their own Fish Ponds, the most becoming Act in the World. This, Sir, push'd with Vigour, will make a *British* Parliament rever'd, give that just Lustre and Dignity to the Crown, the Majesty of the Wearer merits, who reigns in the Heart of every honest Man in the Kingdom, and once more revive that Reputation and Fame which *Britain* has ever acquir'd, when we were so happy as to have Men of Sense in the Direction of Public Affairs.

Our Situation will then be, that the Sovereign, will in effect, be his own Minister, his gallant Spirit will unite, act, and operate with those he does the Honour, and the Nation the Justice to employ; and in that Light we can't help thriving by the *War*, and commanding a *happy Peace*; a *Peace* as honourable as lasting; a success-  
B 2
ful

ful Trade, and an abundant Flow of Wealth.

In our present State we are suspended between Hope and Fears, trifling with a *War*, and fooling with *Negotiations*. Our Expences going on, and our Debts increasing; vainly labouring to acquire nothing, and fighting of Shadows.

But to bring all this Reasoning into a narrow Compass, you will be pleas'd, Sir, to consider, that we have about three Millions to provide this Year, more than the last; if we do not do it, we are only deceiving ourselves; if it were fix, we could bear it, nay, be Gainers with good Conduct; but there must be wise Measures pursued in the raising of it, and Prudence, Justice, and Honour, in the Disposition. Our Fleet must be better govern'd, and better officer'd, our Trade better convoy'd, and Skill and Resolution appear through the Management of all our Affairs. I need not tell you, Sir, who they are, whom the People wish to see at the Head of the Ministry, the  
Army,

Army, and the Navy: And as the Affairs of *Europe* in general are in a very hopeful Way, by the happy Progress of the Arms of our Allies on the Side of *South France*, I should not in the least doubt, that whenever his *Royal Highness the Duke*, shall be appointed to command again in *Flanders*, but that we shall have as pleasant a Prospect on that Side. The Trade of *France* can subsist no longer, than while our *Fleet* is properly dispos'd. I need not repeat again, that the Ruin of the *French Trade* will be the Improvement of our own, but may add, that the Advantage of improving our Commerce, will not be the only Benefit resulting therefrom, since on the *French Trade* in a great Measure depends the Support of their Armies by Land; so that in reality, a right Judgment in the Management of our Naval Affairs is the Basis whereon is built our Hopes of ending this *War* happily, and of getting out of Debt. But, Sir, if we had an Angel at the Head of Naval Affairs, if we had not as bright a Being at the Head of the Ministry too, to co-operate with him, all must end

in nothing. The whole State, Sir, must be uniform and of a Piece, as it was in that Part of the late Queen's Reign when *Marlborough* triumph'd. The Minister must be above either Corruption or corrupting, he must know how to distinguish and encourage Men of Merit, and have Virtue enough to despise those little Arts that keep tottering Ministers on their Legs; he must give Pensions to none, and Places only to such as can and will do their Duty in them: He must be in perfect Harmony with the chief Commanders both by Sea and Land, supply them well, and leave them to their own Judgment as to their Conduct in their respective Stations, giving them every Information, but no Directions; nothing being clearer than that either they are not fit to command, or ought to be absolutely confided in. A high Station is a Bond sufficient upon any wise Man, and it is the Minister's Fault, if such be not employ'd, the rest ought to depend upon themselves; and where such are well chose, and a strict Harmony between them and the Minister, in all human Probability Success will follow. This, Sir, with the



having our Taxes rightly adjusted, and the Public Money wisely dispos'd, to the Use of the Public only, I can't help thinking must conduce to the happy Event we wish, his Majesty's Honour and Security, the Nation's Glory and Welfare, and the universal Happiness of us all. I need not say how much it is in the Power of you and your Collegues, to bring this Change about, that *Britain* may once more have the Direction of the Affairs of *Europe*, and shine again Queen of Isles and of the Ocean.

There is no fairer Rule to judge of Men in Power, than by their Actions and Pursuits. If these are steady, equal, and discerning, the Events flowing therefrom will be generally happy. I do not from hence conclude, that the wisest Men are always successful, though in the Conduct of the Affairs they undertake, it will appear that they deserv'd Success. But it will not denote any Signs of Wisdom, to be in one continued Error, from the beginning to the End of an Administration.

Let us examine the Matter, Point by Point. An Expedition is intended against *France*, for what? why to answer some eminent End; at least the taking of *Port L'Orient*, and destroying the *India Magazines*, &c. for this Purpose the Troops are march'd down to *Portsmouth*, and divert themselves there all the Summer. In the mean Time the *French* prosecute their Affairs in the *Low Countries*, and drive the *Allies* out of *Brabant*. The Expedition then was not to divert the *French* Forces from beating the *Allies*: They do their Business there, and put their *Troops* into *Winter Quarters*, which is no sooner known that they can be well spared to march any where, but instantly the *Fleet* sails. It is now the *Autumnal Equinox*, high Winds prevalent, more especially in the Western Quarter,—they reach the Enemies Coast, and land in an open Road about 5000 Men, march them away to take a fortify'd Town without Artillery, return again to their Ships; land again where there is nothing material

material to meddle with, plunder a few Farmhouses and Churches, and then return Home.

Now suppose this Expedition in Fact did not cost above 2 or 300,000 Pounds, for Transports, Provisions, &c. that Money added to 2 or 300,000 more given away to Stock-Jobbers, would have gone a great way, towards discharging the Navy Debt, and so of saving much Interest; and the *Fleet* attending this Expedition, properly disposed, might have saved the *Leward Island Convoy*, might have met Mr. *Conflans's* Squadron returning Home, and picked up some of *D' Anville's shattered Fleet*: There was plainly no End answered by this Expedition, nor were they unfortunate in it; for I think in Effect nobody opposed them, nor, as good Luck would have it, the Winds neither; if it drew any Troops out of *Flanders*, it was insignificant at that Time; nor did it hinder others marching into *Provence*. So that what end it answered, or why it was sent remains a Mystery, or rather had no  
Meaning

Meaning at all. I believe we all agree it did no good, it will follow then to examine, whether it did not do any harm.

The Honour of a Nation is one of its choicest Jewels. This gives it Figure, Dignity, and Influence abroad, and is the Means of saving much Wealth, since a People really revered, are seldom quarrelled with willingly; but when Nations, whom all their Neighbours know enter into *Wars*, without System, and undertake *Enterprizes* without adjusting the Means to the End, they will not regard the entering into a *War* with them, as well apprised that no material Evil can result therefrom: The Consequence whereof is, that we must either be eternally in a *trifling War*, or, what is as bad, an uncertain and *unstable Peace*. A Nation's Honour is this, that Care be first taken in the making of Treaties, and then be as careful not to break them, on any Considerations whatever. If necessitated to enter into a *War*, to calculate and adjust every Thing in such a Manner as to be morally sure of carrying the  
Point

Point aimed at. In this light the *Spanish War* ought to have been pushed with the utmost Vigour, or not entered into at all. Since the *War* has become more general, the *Enemy* should certainly have been pushed where weakest, instead of being played with where strongest. The whole *Coasts* of *France* and *Spain* have been hitherto unguarded, their *Troops* all drawn off into *Flanders* and *Italy*, and therefore obvious enough, where they ought to have been attacked, but immature Attempts to this Purpose, are full as idle, as dishonourable; to have taken *Port L'Orient*, would have been carrying an important Point, but the seeming to design it without Force sufficient, is not only the worst kind of Conduct, as it relates to the Act itself, but also as it relates to the future, for hence Care will be taken, to prevent even the Possibility of any future Success, and thus have destroyed all after Views, as well as murdered the present. Surely then an *Expedition* so miserably managed had better been let alone, tho' a juster Design in general could never have been imagined.

gined. The conducting of right Design wrongly, shews in the strongest Light that can be, the Want of Genius and Ability in a Ministry, A Man cannot be questioned in his Understanding, when he makes Traverses in walking over an untrodden Grass Field, but he must be blind indeed, who cannot keep in a Path laid out for him. It is the same in State Matters. There is a certain Course of Intricacies, which no Man can be sure of steering stedily through: In the *War* he cannot answer for the Skill, Conduct, and Courage of every Officer employed, no more than he can for the Wisdom and Management of many of his Civil Agents; but he can, when an important Point is to be carried, not only give a fair Judgment of whom he ought principally to employ, and likewise take Care that he is sufficiently furnished to succeed in his Enterprise; if these are not done, an *Enterprise* becomes ridiculous, the Nation is enfeebled and dishonoured, and the Minister shewn to be unfit for his Station. These are a Kind of self evident Principles, which  
 prove

prove themselves as soon as instanced, and are therefore the true Test whereby to try the Capacity of a Minister; and surely the *late Attempt* on *Port l' Orient*, was an Experiment with a Witness, as to the Manner wherein it was proposed to be executed; and may produce a severe Resentment from our Enemies, for what indeed we only ought to be laughed at.

It is very plain from hence that the present Ministers Capacity doth not shine in the Direction of *Enterprizes*; it's plain from what occurs to every Man's Understanding that it don't lye in the Management of the *Revenues*, either as to the improving, cherishing, or getting the Taxes properly in; it being but too notorious that one third Part, is at least lost, for want of effectually destroying those Gangs of Robbers, that pursue their wicked Courses with Impunity, that make a Jest of the Law, and despise all Government; and if there can be any Surplus rais'd at this critical Con-juncture, we have some reason to fear that it will be expended no way to the Honour  
or

or Interest of the Nation. Now as these are the two material Points, whereon the rest chiefly depend, and there appears not even the Face of Conduct in either, what are we not to expect in Consequence; and this too at a Time, when the finest Prospect imaginable presents, of making ourselves happy and easy for ever? If we cannot get in our old Taxes, new ones naturally occur, Interest rises upon them, and consequently an unnecessary Increase of our Debts, which can only be remedied, as that merry Fellow who wrote the *Plain Reasner* has paradoxically shewn; by putting a final Conclusion either to the wrong Means of raising them as now; or of a general Bankrupcy.

The present Notion of reducing some Expences will be very far from answering the great End, of doing our Business as we ought, the saving of 20, or 30,000 a Year in one Article, while by one other we lose some Hundred thousand Pounds, and by a third give as much away. The Specie carried out of the Kingdom by the Smugglers,



lers, and the Money given People who ought to be paid in another Coin, renders such Sums as are to be so saved Trifles: Nor were all the Whims and Inventions of Mankind, for raising new Taxes executed, would they in any Sense answer a parallel Purpose, of raising what the Law previously entitles us to, and saving of what is unlawfully given away. So that we are really by every new Scheme, beginning at the wrong End, or rather going on from bad to worse, and while we are, as to our foreign Affairs, in the finest Situation in the World, we are at Home, feeding on our own Bowels without Thought, Reflection, Compassion, or Mercy; and this purely for want of that common Care which the plainest Understanding in the World, with the Help of an ingenuous Mind, and an honest Heart, readily becomes Master of.

The Reason against it lies here. The private Interest of a few particular Men, is to over-balance all Regards to the Honour, Welfare, and Prosperity of the State; they  
must

must be supported in Power at all Hazards, and Smuglers permitted in a Course of Plunder and Rapine, because once in seven Years, they can serve a particular Interest ; but I hope they won't presume to call this governing a Nation, it is making a Jest of all Government, and laughing at every thing that's just and sacred, and therefore ought to be considered properly, by those whose more immediate Business it is to consider them, to rectify their Proceeding, and to give the Nation a fair Account of their Actions.

We may subsist now, To-morrow and next Day, under such wild Conduct, but the Event must be evidently fatal ; what Difficulties it has already put us under, and what Dangers brought us into, is but too obvious, not to intimate the certain Consequences of a Continuance, and we cannot be rightly in our Senses, and suffer such Acts to be perpetuated, when it is so easily remedied, by employing better Friends to the Royal Family and to the Constitution, with Abilities infinitely superior.

To

To you then, Sir, and to your Collegues I appeal; I may say without Vanity, that the *Nation* appeals and demands your Aid, that not only the public but the private Enemies of the State, the Fools, as well as the Knaves, may be properly disposed of, and Men of Skill, Penetration, Honour, and Spirit, directing the Helm. Men lay up Estates for their Children, yet at the same Time, by not considering this rightly, forget that they are really doing of nothing, and are only amassing Wealth in the Clouds To what End is all their Pains and Labour, if they suffer, at the same Time, the common Rapine to swallow them up. He that gets much for his Children on this Plan, is not heaping Wealth, but Sorrow and Poverty on them. When a Nation's too deeply mortgaged, no Man has any Estate, but in Imagination, and while this is needlessly permitted, what must our Posterity say of either the Wisdom or Honesty of their Ancestors! This, Sir, will occur more sensibly to your Apprehension, when it shall appear that some People are contriv-

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ing

ing to make *Peace* with *France* at a Time when the *common Enemy* is in Effect ruined. This does not, I confess, at first Sight seem quite clear to every Body; but the Reason is, because they do not consider the true State of the Case in all its Parts, and without which, it's impossible to give a right Judgment of our Situation. You will please Sir, therefore, to reflect, that the *French* on the first setting out of this *War* had the *following Aids*, which are now entirely lost to them, *viz.*

By the Alliance of <i>Prussia</i>	100,000	Men
By the late Emperor	30,000	
By the Elector <i>Palatine</i>	6,000	
By the Prince of <i>Hesse</i>	6,000	
By the Two <i>Sicilies</i>	20,000	
By the Republic of <i>Genoa</i>	12,000	
By <i>Spain</i> (more than now)	50,000	
		<hr/>
Sum Total	224,000	

I do not chuse to aggravate this Account; but as there are Eleven thousand *Hessians* and *Bavarians*, Part of the *above Troops*, now in our Service, which, added to the Losses that

that the *French* have sustained in *Italy*, *Germany*, &c. I cannot think the Account heightened, if I say upon the Whole that the *French* are weaker now, than at the *beginning of the War* by at least 300,000 disciplined Men. This, Sir, makes a vast Alteration in the *State of the War*, and I dare say will strike you with Ideas, very distant from *Peace*, at least unless begged of us. I know the *Partisans of France* and of Power, will talk of Resources infinite which that Kingdom can afford. This, at first Sight, looks well, and would have some Truth in it too, were we attempting to conquer *France*, because then the whole Country fights at Home, without any significant Expence ; but we are to see, how they will be able to preserve their *Conquests* and their *Trade*, and keep their Armies on Foot abroad. This must be effected on a different Principle, than the domestic Resource, common to all well peopled Nations. A Flow of Wealth, arising from a free and extended Commerce, is essentially necessary towards the carrying on a *Foreign War* : For altho' there may be Money enough in

C 2

*France,*

*France*, as doubtless there is, yet if that be drawn off by Force and no Recruits to supply the common Circulation, it will be but a fatal Resource; besides that the *French Subjects*, in precarious Times, know how to secrete their Wealth as well as other People, which, for the present, is the same Thing as sending it Abroad. But we must not wonder that this is not understood by some People, since they who do not know the State of their own Country, are hardly acquainted with that of *France*, as obviously enough appears, by every Step they take; and will be still more apparent, by shewing you, that the *French* have in Effect, lost all their Trade, as well as are weakened in their *Military Power* as above. This I likewise conceive few have considered comprehensively, though all see it in Fractures; I therefore, for your Satisfaction, throw it into such a Light, as to make it appear at one View, viz.

*Lost*

*Lost to the French since the War ;*

The *East India* Trade — totally.

Fishery — Ditto — if we please.

*Turkey* — Ditto — at least for the present.

*Lyons* — Ditto — the Course into the *Empire* stoppt.

*Bordeaux* Ditto — by the War with us.

Land Trade by *South France* — by the Allies Army.

The Fur Trade — totally on *Canada* Side.

There remains to them at present then, only their Trade to the *West India Islands*, and *Mississippi*, which we must be guilty of the highest Negligence imaginable to suffer them to carry on another Summer, and then from whence will spring their Resources? Can any reasonable Man imagine? Thus, you see, Sir, how Men, who only consider Things in Parts, are apt to judge on public Affairs, and brigue for a *Peace* at a Time, when the pursuing of a *brisk War* can only establish us in Power, Wealth,

C 3

Peace,

Peace, and Happiness. I need not set in Ballance *ours* with the *French Trade*, as lost, because you can't help knowing of its being really improv'd; though by the worst Conduct in the World we have lost a Multitude of Shipping. But to avoid that for the future, as well as to destroy the *French Trade* entirely, I shall beg Leave to observe to you the Means I think right to effectuate both.

The first is by Act of Parliament to make it Felony, either to carry *Provisions* from *Ireland*, or *Lumber* from the *Plantations*, to any part of the Dominions of *France*. And to prevent that common Trick of Ships running purposely in the way of being taken, make it Felony to insure *Lumber* or *Provision* Ships, both Parties liable, but one pardon'd on discovering the other, and the Person insuring not liable to pay the Damage.—But Ships bound to our own *Plantations* to sail under strong *Convoys*, the Owners giving ample Security, for the Masters obeying Orders, and not wilfully losing their Convoy.

It



It was observ'd, during the first Part of this War, that the Privateers took a vast Number of the Enemies *West-India* Ships, I think there were 240, worth, on an Average 5000*l.* a Ship, taken between our Men of War and Privateers; whereupon the *French* took new Measures, and put their Trade under the Direction of strong Convoys, making at the same Time, the judicious Orders, which I have annex'd by way of *Appendix*, which although before publish'd, may not have come to the Knowledge of many Readers. On this the Merchants and money'd People left off privateering, and laid up their Ships. We never considered how to counterpoise the Enemies good Conduct; and the Consequence has been, that we have not only lost the Benefit of our Privateers, but have since lost three Ships to their one, and their *West-India* Trade has rose, and flourished again. This is so important a Matter, as cannot upon this occasion be pass'd over with any kind of Decency, since the quick ending of the *War* mainly depended on it, and

how to recover this false, or rather negligent Step, is now the Question. That the Merchants cannot fit out any Ships, able to beat the *French Convoys*, is certain; and as they cannot get any significant Prizes without, it follows, that they must fit out none at all. But 'tis possible they might consent to do it, if right Proposals were made to them, and they might, at a small Expence to the Government, be render'd eminently useful, by only contracting with the Government to cruize on certain Stations with the Men of War; on being allow'd Provisions at the Navy Expence, two or three 60 Gun Ships, with three or four Privateers, making at any Time a sufficient Squadron to destroy the *French Convoy*. This would answer the Owners Purpose very well, as their Hazard would be small, when they have neither Wages nor Provisions to load the Outset; and the Men's who serve, as they might have a greater Allowance of Prize-Money, and be morally sure of Success. Nor is there any Objection to this but what may be easily answered; As to the Notion that the Privateers  
get

get the *Men of Wars* Men from them, its an Error, they rather make Men for them, and I believe it would be found, that this, or some similar Encouragement, would be as much the Means of distressing the Enemy, or more than the *Allied Army* in *Provence*, and consequently put the *State* of the *War* in the best Train imaginable, and make a better *Peace* than all the *Negotiators* at *Breda* put together. I could deliver many Schemes to this Purpose, either of which I conceive would answer, but chuse not to digress so far from the main Intent of this Work; when I see the HELMSMEN of the STATE inclinable to do any thing that's shining, it will be Time enough to give them my best Assistance, otherwise the publishing my Thoughts may do harm, but can do no good.

When the Directors of our public Affairs understand the Situation of the Enemy's thoroughly, they are so far in the fair Way to Success; they have next only to understand their own, and to have Wit enough to operate them to effect. I think

we have gone a good Way in considering of both, I hope we have made the Enemy's very clear, and it remains now only to adjust our own, form the Parallel, and conclude the Subject.

The Principles I would finish upon are these : That Taxes already settled be fully rais'd, and all Impediments thereto obviated ; that new ones, if necessary, be laid where least burthensome, least oppressive, least obstructive to *Trade*, and rais'd at the least Expence. That our *Naval* Affairs be judiciously attended to, and no Money squander'd away on *Place-Men* or *Elections*. And that, to bring all this to bear, some Men of Spirit and Judgment, rise up and put the whole in execution ; the Parts of themselves being nothing, without a right Head to bring them together, and to make them act in due Order, with full Force and Efficacy.

As to the first Principle, its as obvious as Light, that Taxes can never be duly levied, while Thieves and Vagabonds, holding little

the Freeholds, or being Voters in pitiful  
 Boroughs, are tacitly permitted to obstruct  
 them. That this is now the Case has been  
 prov'd beyond all Contradiction, and while  
 it continues to be so, the endeavouring to  
 raise the full Taxes vain. No well go-  
 vern'd Nation was ever *bully'd* by *Smug-*  
*glers* before, nor did ever any Men, who pre-  
 tended to direct public Affairs, or to have  
 a Grain of Honesty, as we can find in His-  
 tory, dream of obliquely encouraging such  
 illicit Practices; from whence I shall beg  
 Leave to infer, that, until their Supporters  
 are disempower'd, this monstrous Super-  
 structure of confess'd Villainy must stand,  
 we must be content with such Levies as we  
 can make; and as to the rest, like con-  
 tented Cuckolds, put our Horns in our Poc-  
 kets. Not that this is the Way to beat  
*France*, but is the ready Road to a *ruinous*  
*and destructive Peace*. However, as we  
 hope that this will be immediately amend-  
 ed, or perhaps so far obviated, as not to  
 put us under the Necessity of new Taxes,  
 while at all Events, the Surplusage of those  
 actually rais'd is a sufficient Fund for rais-  
 ing

ling at least 20,000,000, which is what our Enemies can't pretend to; but if new ones must be rais'd, as does not at all seem necessary, it's plain we can, by doubling the Window-Tax, and laying it equal, or by bringing the Land-Tax to an Equality only, make a Fund for twice 20,000,000; and therefore no kind of Necessity to burthen Trade, which trebles the Oppression on the Landed Interest, and is perhaps the least expensive in raising of any we have.

Here I can't help observing the Absurdity of allowing a Shilling in the Pound, for receiving and issuing the Money rais'd and brought into the *Exchequer*, while we are endeavouring to save as little, by a Means that looks odd in our present Circumstances; for as it's evident, Money enough is to be had, the Notion of breaking his Majesty's Guards makes it seem, as if we had no Money in the Nation, and must look a little particular to our Allies, and give Spirits to our Enemies, though on a false Foundation. The King of *Spain* is said to have done something like it, but its presum'd for  
Want,

Want of Money ; I own I don't understand the true Reason, unless it be to raise more useful Men instead of them, but then not only so many People will be injur'd, but there seems something dishonourable in the doing it. The Magnificence of the Crown, or, as others term it, the Embroidery of the State, is really more to be regarded in this Nation than Men generally dream of, if Popularity comes once to conceive a mean Notion of kingly Power. Though I am as much a Commonwealth's Man as any reasoning Man in the Kingdom, yet, as it is evident to me, that kingly Power is the only Ballance that keeps us from Confusion, I am perswaded that external Shew is in a great Measure the Basis of that Power, and, when remov'd, will be a great Means to make it totter. And should therefore conceive that as much Money may be sav'd a much better Way, and without real Prejudice to any body. For my Part, I see no reason for suffering idle Patent Places to run away with such a large Part of the Public Revenues, nor indeed the Sense of having any at all.

Our

Our *Naval Affairs* are next in Place, the Care and judicious Management whereof importantly concerns us ; this with a right manner of raising, and just Disposition of the public Revenues, are the Foundation of all, and we are to be great or little, have a *ruinous War*, or a *destructive Peace*, as these happen to be conducted.

Our *Navy* now is near equal to that of all *Europe* besides, is at least four to one against *France*, and must increase as her's lessens. *Trade* is equally the Support of both, and next good Management. For this last Year or two, I think the *French* have done much more for the *Protection* of *Trade* than ours ; they have lost but few Ships, we a Number I am ashamed to mention ; where the Fault lies is next to be enquir'd into.

The good Conduct of the *French* in giving the Orders before-mention'd to be in the *Appendix*, put an End in Effect to our privateering, and consequently lessened our  
*Acting*



*Acting Naval-Power*, by at least one half; while those who directed our *Naval Affairs*, pursued no counter Measures. The great Object before us was the preventing of the Duke *D'Anville's Fleet*, getting off to *America*, which was in no Sense the Thing, since we at that Time either intended a Descent on *Britany*<sup>a</sup>, or we did not; if we did, the carrying off the Troops and disciplin'd Militia in that Fleet was the very Thing to be wish'd, and a very little Addition to our Naval Force at *Cape Breton*, sufficient to obviate all Attempts of the Enemy there. If we did not intend a Descent on *Britany*, surely it would have been best so to have divided our acting Squadrons, as to have prevented at least 240 Sail of Merchant-Ships going out of the Bay of *Biscay*, in one Fleet under the Con-

<sup>a</sup> The Descent on *Britany*, seems only intended to avoid the Consequences of an Expedition to *North America*, previously agreed upon and not executed; because if that had been done, no Peace could have been made with *France*, without delivering it up again, which the People would never agree to.

voy of four Men of War only. But contrary to this, the Disposition of our Fleet was so very extraordinary, that out of the said Bay, and much about the same Time, this Convoy, and the Duke *D'Anville's* Fleet both sail'd, the one by the North, the other by the South Confines, while Admiral *Martin* was cruizing with a very strong Squadron just in the Middle, as if his Business was only to see the Enemy well out. When the Enemy was gone I don't remember that any Ships were sent after Mr. *Conflans*, or to strengthen the Squadron at *Cape Breton*, our Fleet being kept together for the Descent on *Britany*, which detach'd from other Regards was right enough, but as it was conducted, impossible to operate significantly ; so that the whole Year no one thing was done, either against the Enemies Trade, or on the Coast. From whence I shall beg Leave to conclude without any further Remarks on our Naval Conduct, that let us blunder as much as we will, and act by one eternal Solecism, yet that, with a very little right Conduct henceforth, the Power, Wealth, and Commerce

merce of *France*, must cease for ever; and that we have, and *France* has not those Resources in Store, which the World has been led, blindly, and implicitly to believe, from the hermaphroditical united Outcry of ministerial Agents, and profess'd *Jacobites*; the one stimulated, I hope, by Fear only, the other on Principles too evident to need Illustration. To render the Folly of one, and the Wickedness of the other evident, it may not be improper with the State of our own Nation abbreviated, to shew at the same Time that of all *Europe*.

I shall not here engage in the common Dispute, which are greatest, the Revenues of the Crown of *France*, or of *England*, since an arbitrary Prince has all his Subjects Money he can find, in his Power, while a free State only gives what's necessary. The Riches of Nations, as well as of private People, is best known by the Credit they have with others; its plain that whatever we find necessary is not wanted; on the contrary, is readily supply'd when wise Men engage in the Means; and its extremely well known, that our *sinking Fund* only, without laying new Taxes, is amply sufficient to answer all the Emergencies of

the State, for at least a seven Years War, so far as to pay the Interest of all Extraordinaries above the common Revenues; and how much they are capable of being farther improv'd, has been already mention'd. I believe no body will deny, but that our own Commerce is in a thriving Way, and the *French* on the decline; nor that it is in our Power, with very moderate Care and Skill, to entirely ruin that of *France*; which Nation, not being in any Way of acquiring new Revenues by further Dominion, must act on its own Bottom, and by losing its Trade, sink under the Burthen of the War, which there is not the least Appearance of on our Part. The Troops of our Allies are at least equal to those of *France*, and at present on the gaining Side. If any new Ally starts up for *France*, against the Court of *Vienna*, the late Treaty with *Russia* will fully Balance it; so that it does not any Way appear by what Means the *French* Court can extricate themselves out of their present Difficulties, by bringing into the Field, in South *France*, an equal Number of disciplin'd Troops, as are already there of the Allies; nor find an Ally capable of doing her any important Service. The Event in  
the

the Eye of common Sense, is very clear. *France* must be soon ruin'd and exhausted, both by Sea and Land, except she can find Means to conquer, which, at least, is not very probable, either in the *Low-Countries*, or in South *France*; and by Sea is quite out of the Question. *Spain* may be lost to her soon, and then the very Basis of her Support falls of Course. Besides that *Spain*, if continuing to act on the old Plan, will not probably be able to do much; that Kingdom has not an Affluence of People, nor consequently can raise many Soldiers, without wounding her vital Part, the Labour of the Poor, which is the Support of all Nations. The Crown of *Spain*, notwithstanding the Wealth of the *West-Indies*, is always necessitous, and must be more so, if just and regular Measures are pursued on our Part, to prevent the Returns. The Affair of the Marriage with the House of *Saxony*, cannot at present be expected to answer any important Purpose, since any Motions from that House in Favour of *France*, must hazard the Loss of the two Sicilies. And *Russia* seems sufficiently secured to ballance the *Turks* in Case they should attempt any Irruption in-

to the Empress's hereditary Dominions ; as to the revolting State of *Genoa*, tho' it may require some Time to clear up, has no very favourable Aspect towards the House of *Bourbon*, but rather seems on the Point of imminent Destruction.

On our Part, while in Alliance with the Court of *Vienna*, we certainly cannot want Men, if we have Money to pay them, and, I think, 'tis very clear we don't want that. The Soldiers on our Part, and for aught I can see, the Generals too, are full as good as the *French* ; our Success on the Side of *Provence*, probably a Ballance for the Loss of the *Low Countries*. The King of *Sardinia*, I conceive, interested beyond the Hazard of losing him, and, as far as human Judgment can be suppos'd to extend, no Danger of *Italy's* being disturb'd by the Power of the *Two Sicilies*, and there is the best Appearance, that our Army in the *Low Countries*, this Year, will be, at least a Match for the *French*. It remains then, that we only consider a little farther the State of naval Affairs, as to the military Part, where there seems no Appearance of any important Opposition ; as we can calculate them to a greater Certainty than we can by Land, be-  
cause

cause we are better assur'd of our Interest. If *Holland* does not publicly declare against *France*, we are very sure of its not acting against us, and I believe are equally safe as to the Northern Powers in general ; therefore have only to compute the Force of *Spain* and *France*. *Spain* not being a Nation in general Trade, raises no more Seamen than she can conveniently employ to her own Colonies ; if she employs them in the naval Service, then the Trade must suffer, and consequently the Money Channels be damm'd up. If in the Trade, then the Navy can't be supported. For it is not with *Spain*, as with the maritime Powers, or, indeed, with *France*, that many Men may be draughted off, and yet the Trade carried on ; *Spain* not having Seamen enough in its whole Trade, to man a Navy, much less to do it as we can, with a third or fourth Man. The Reason why *France* can't keep up a Navy of any Consideration for a long Time, differs essentially from the other. The great Expence the *French* Court is at in training and supporting a numerous Land Army, a Multitude of Forts and Garisons, besides what is expended in common with us, renders it impracti-

impracticable. Her Expences in the Land Service in Peace, being near equal to ours in War, notwithstanding the foreign Troops we support, and the Alliances we engage in; so that if both *France* and *Spain* together could support fifty Ships, from forty Guns and upwards, which I think is the utmost, they could not one Time with another have above thirty at Sea, which must either be kept together or distributed. If kept together, the Operations against them are the more easy, because only dependent on a single Point. If distributed, then some Judgment and Address is necessary, in procuring of Intelligence, and stationing of our own, which, as we can spare and support, at least double the Number constantly, will only want Penetration to employ accordingly.

I must confess, I see our Advantages in a much higher Light, if good Counsels be pursued, and in Hopes that they will be so, shall beg Leave to conclude these my Remarks.



# APPENDIX.

*The French King's Regulation of Convoys for the Islands belonging to the French in America, dated May 14, 1745.*

**H**IS Majesty having resolved to fit out Men of War to convoy Merchantmen designed for the Trade of the Islands belonging to the *French in America*, and being desirous to secure the Success of the said Convoys, as well on the Part of the Captains of such Merchantmen, who shall be ready to take the Advantage of them, as on that of the Officers to whom his Majesty shall trust the Command of the Convoy, hath, and hereby doth order as follows; *viz.*

Article I. The Captains and Masters of Merchantmen that shall be fitted out for the Islands belonging to the *French in America*, and for whom a Convoy shall be provided, shall be obliged to rendezvous in the Place appointed them, by Virtue of the Orders given by his Majesty; and at the Time prefixed them, for taking the Advantage of the said Convoys to the Places to which they are bound.

II. They shall also be obliged, before they leave the Islands to rendezvous in the Ports and Roads prescribed, according to the Orders that shall be issued forth for that Purpose, by the Governors, Lieutenants-General of his Majesty for the said Islands, in Consequence of those which his Majesty shall give them; as well for the Rendezvous from whence the Convoys are to depart, as for the Cautions to be taken to secure the Passage of the Ships from the Ports and Roads where they have been Trading, to the Port of Rendezvous.

III. His

III. His Majesty expressly prohibits and forbids the said Captains and Masters of Ships to depart without Convoy, whether it be from Ports in *France*, for which Convoys shall be appointed, or from Ports in the said Islands, under the Penalty of forfeiting 500 Livres, and to serve one Year in the Quality of a private Sailor, without Wages, on board his Majesty's Ships. Nevertheless it is hereby understood, that such Ships which by some unavoidable Accident were prevented joining the Convoy before its Departure, or that having departed with the Convoy, shall be obliged to put back, in such Case they may, within the Space of one Month after the Departure of the Convoy, proceed on their intended Voyage, without waiting for a succeeding Convoy; and for this Purpose they must obtain Certificates, justifying the lawful Reasons of their Stay, which must be procured in the following manner; *viz.* The Captains of Ships, who desire thus to depart from Ports in *France*, must apply to the Directors of the Chambers of Commerce, or to the Chiefs of the Consular Jurisdiction examined by the Commissaries of the Marine at the said Ports; and those Captains who shall depart from *America*, shall apply to the commanding Officer, and the Commissary of the Marine, or to the Officer appointed to execute that Function, in the Port from whence he departs.

IV. It is also prohibited and forbid, that if any Captain or Master, voluntarily, or without being necessitated so to do, leave the Convoy, the Penalty shall be 1000 Livres, one Year's Imprisonment, and to be incapacitated ever to command a Ship at Sea. It shall be permitted to such who are accused of this Misdemeanour, to defend themselves by producing their Ship Journal, verbal Process drawn up by the help of their Officers, and the Declarations of their Ships Crew, of the Cause of their Separation.

V. It is his Majesty's Pleasure, that in Case the said Captains and Masters shall depart without Convoy, or

willingly separate from the Fleet, by order of the Owners of the Ships, such Owners shall be condemned in their own and particular Name to forfeit 10,000 Livres, besides the Penalties mentioned in the two foregoing Articles against the said Masters and Captains.

VI. His Majesty enjoins the commanding Officers of the said Convoys to use their utmost Care for the Security of the Fleet, to accompany them, and keep them under their Flag. His Majesty expressly prohibits and forbids them to abandon the Ships under their Care through any Pretence or Occasion whatsoever, under Pain of being broke, or more considerable Punishment, according to what the Exigence of the Case may require; be it however understood, that in Case of an unavoidable Separation, the said Officers shall do all that is in their Power to collect the Convoy again; and when it shall so happen that they arrive in Port without the said Ships, they shall deliver an Abstract of their Journal to the Comptroler of the Port where they arrive, which shall be examined by the commanding Officers of the said Port, assisted by such Officers as is Majesty shall think fit to nominate for that Purpose; to the End, that his Majesty may judge by the Accounts delivered, of the Reason of their Separation, and give such Orders as he shall think fit; for which Reason the Officers shall be obliged to keep an exact Journal of their Navigation, or be liable to be called to Account.

VII. For the better Execution of the above Orders the said Officers shall give to the said Captains and Masters Signals for the Voyage, to which Signals the said Captains and Masters shall be obliged to conform; those who do not shall undergo the Penalty of serving one Year as a private Sailor, without Wages, in his Majesty's Ships.

His Majesty orders and commands the Duke *de Pen-thieure* Admiral of *France*, the Vice-Admiral, Lieutenants Generals, Intendants, Commodores, Captains of Ships Commissaries, and other Officers of the

Marine, also Governors, his Lieutenant's-General in the Colonies, Intendants, particular Governors, and other Officers, to whom this may appertain, to see that these Orders be executed ; and they shall be published and registered wherever needful, that none may pretend to be ignorant thereof.

Done at the Camp before *Tournay*, the 14th Day of *May*, 1745.

Signed, LOUIS.  
And underneath, PHILIPPEAUX.

The Duke *de Penthièvre* Admiral of *France*,

HAVING revised the King's Orders on the other Part, with Command to put the same in Execution we order the Vice-Admirals, Lieutenants-General, Commodores, Captains of Ships, Commissaries, and other Officers to whom it may belong, likewise the Officers of the Admiralty, to put them in Execution, according to their Form and Tenor ; also to publish and enroll them wherever it may be necessary, and in the usual Form.

Done at the Camp before *Tournay*, the 14th Day of *May*, 1745.

Signed, L. J. M. de Bourbon.  
And lower, by his Serene Highness,  
Signed, ROMIEU.

For the King, { Collated with the Original by us, Escuyer  
Conseiller Secretary to the Kings House-  
hold, Crown of *France*, and Treasury.

F I N I S.





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